

## Rural work among rural adults and young wage earners in Uruguay

### *Trabajo rural entre adultos y jóvenes asalariados rurales en Uruguay*

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#### **Abstract**

*In the last ten years in the Latin American South Cone including Uruguay, important investments have been made in the agricultural sector by global agrifood corporations are highlighted in soy, forestry, minerals, sugar cane, meat, etc. The reconfiguration of the rural social space has been developed in different dimensions of analysis, one of which is the labor market. In this regard, it is proposed to analyze the main characteristics of the rural employment market, social conditions of rural employees through the categories of R. Kautman and four dimensions of decent employment: socioeconomic context, employment opportunity, social security and monetary income, such analysis is carried out transversally from the generations approach. The data would indicate social conditions of inequality and inequality in work according to the generational group of the employee. The analysis by means of the generational dimension points to it, forming a “node” in the configuration of social inequality in rural society.*

#### **Keywords**

*Human settlements and land use, rural Sociology, rural development, young rural, agricultural worker.*

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### **Resumen**

En los últimos diez años en el Cono Sur latinoamericano incluido Uruguay, se han realizado importantes inversiones en el rubro agropecuario por parte de corporaciones agroalimentarias globales se destacan en la soja, forestal, minerales, caña de azúcar, carnes, etc. Se ha desarrollado la reconfiguración del espacio social rural en diferentes dimensiones de análisis, una de ellas es el mercado de trabajo. En tal sentido, se plantea analizar las principales características del mercado de empleo rural, condiciones sociales de los asalariados rurales por medio de las categorías de R. Katzman y cuatro dimensiones del empleo decente: contexto socioeconómico, oportunidad de empleo, seguridad social e ingresos monetarios tal análisis se realiza de forma transversal desde el enfoque de generaciones. Los datos estarían indicando condiciones sociales de desigualdad e inequidad en el trabajo según el grupo generacional del asalariado. El análisis por medio de la dimensión generacional señala al mismo conformando un “nodo” en la configuración de la desigualdad social de la sociedad rural.

### **Palabras clave**

Establecimientos humanos y uso de la tierra, Sociología rural, desarrollo rural, joven rural, trabajador agrícola.

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## **Introduction**

Uruguay is part of the transformations observed in the reconfiguration of the Latin American rural social space in the last three decades: consolidation of the demographic transition process, which impacts on the structure and configuration of the rural family; urbanization process of medium and small urban centers; development of an intensive technological model (green revolution, biotechnology, bioinformatics); transformation of the structure of the labor market; processes of country-city emigration.

Transformations that in the Latin American continent have mostly responded to the emergence of a new development model, which has been characterized by the liberalization of markets (the least intervention of the State and its respective restructuring) and structural adjustment policies applied to the rural environment on the one hand, on the other, the development of agri-food corporations on a global scale, factors that have influenced the reconfiguration of rural Latin American society, expressed in the indicated trends.

The present work proposes to analyze comparatively in the last ten years the main characteristics of the rural employment market, social conditions of rural wage-earners through the categories of R. Katzman and four dimensions of decent employment: socio-economic context, employment opportunity, social security and monetary income (National Institute of Statistics, 2017); this analysis must be carried out transversally from the generations approach. This approach makes it possible to consider the main characteristics of the rural youth employment of wage earners and compare it with their adult peers. These conditions are generated in a framework of debate about the productive-technological transformations of the agrarian capitalist process and its impact on the rural territories of which the labor market is one of its indicators.

## **Productive and social transformations in the Uruguayan rural territory**

In the last 25 years or so, the socio-spatial and political-institutional changes of capitalism in its post-Fordist phase intensified, that is, the more general effects of the restructuring of productive processes that not only become globalized but recompose and impact certain social spaces.

The rurality of Uruguay does not escape the global trends in terms of productive and social transformations, the international growth of the prices of raw materials, as a result of the demand for energy and food (Rubio, 2008), produces a cycle of productive expansion and rising prices that transforms the national agricultural sector. A clear indicator of these changes is the evolution of the price of land in the country that in those years increases almost eight times its value, with record prices, reaching in the cases of the most fertile land prices similar to those of the border region.

This new context as mentioned in Riella and Romero (2014) is marked by four factors that together make up the current socio-economic scenario on which the national contemporary agrarian structure should be analyzed. They are alterations in land use, legal changes for land tenure, foreignization and the dynamism of the land market.

The corollary of all these factors has been the increase in the price of land that at the beginning of the year 2000 had an average price value per hectare sold of U\$S 448, while in 2011 they stand at an average value of

US\$ 3,196. In regions with greater agricultural aptitude, the average price exceeded US\$ 5,000 at the end of the period. Lease prices also showed a significant increase in the period, going from US\$28 average in the base year to US\$152 per hectare in 2011, and in agricultural land the average lease price was higher than the US\$ 300 for that year. Access to land, the democratization of the agrarian structure and attempts to reduce their degree of concentration have been halted by difficulties and by the role of the actors that act in it.

Territorial impacts have been very heterogeneous giving rise to a new regionalization of rural areas, on the other hand, changes are observed generated by labor dynamics in the age groups that make up the labor market, especially for young people, who become part of it in a precarious and informal way, although in smaller percentages than in the rest of the continent.

In the last two decades the process of agrarian modernization has been consolidated in which capitalist social relations and wage hiring become predominant, in the last decade in particular due to factors of global demand there is a growth of salaried workers, which later was stabilized, in this process a form of secondary exploitation is configured in which the rationality of the “equivalence exchange” ceases to apply or only applies in a limited way (Dörre 2013a in Cerda, 2016), using symbolic forms and political force to devalue the work of certain social groups or to exclude certain groups.

In this way, precarious employment conditions are generated in the agro-export sector, which implies the installation of differences and hierarchies based on the segmentation and categorization of the workers, in this case by age. Differentiations and hierarchies that imply a logic of devaluation of the other that, in turn, legitimizes the differentiated distribution of protections as well as differentiated access to rights (Cerda, 2016).

In short, this last decade has marked a break in the process of dynamic stagnation that characterized the national agrarian structure since the mid-70s, this break has meant deepening the social relations of capitalist production in Uruguayan rural society at the beginning of the century XXI. Process that is based on the contradictory articulation between a pre-capitalist agricultural technical reality and new forms of society and technology, which have intensified, consolidated and generated an enlarged social base of owners of the means of production.

## **Rurality in Latin America: approach according to generations**

The social construction of youth as a concept of analysis of social phenomena in rural societies in Latin America, is associated with the process of internationalization of the process of agrarian modernization in the continent, promoted and carried forward after the Second World War in which the Rural youth are perceived as agents of development.

Now, youth is a socio-cultural construction related to time and space that is presented as a phase of life between childhood and adult life (Feixa, 2004). The notion of youth corresponds to the social awareness of the existence of certain particular characteristics that differentiate young people in relation to children and adults. In this way then, the existence of youth is related to the social recognition of a specific age of the life cycle of people and to the proposal of a series of institutions and normative practices of youth behaviors, as well as a series of cultural images that impose certain expectations about youth behaviors (Bevilaqua Marín, 2010).

In the case of the study of rural youth, it is necessary to consider the specificities of dependency relationships with life and work (a fundamental dimension in these relationships) in agrarian spaces, as well as economic, political and cultural networks in which the young people and their families are integrated. There are structural conditions for this to happen, such as the asymmetric distribution of public spending within societies, which makes education, employment and health opportunities unequal among young people from different territories. But in the heterogeneous nature of youth other factors come into play, such as subjectivity, the ethnic-cultural substratum, gender, belonging to a given socioeconomic stratum and the generational and intergenerational historical context of each young person. Thus, for example, being young, and being a young person in rural areas, is a particular condition, which rural youth do not experience, even coming from the same country (Romero, 2004).

In short, the youth of a territory, a country or a region, is made up of heterogeneous sectors and groups, with unequal living conditions and with different forms of appropriation of the natural, cultural and social environment among young people and with other generations. That is, there are intergenerational inequalities in human and social development

even in more egalitarian countries such as Uruguay, for which it is necessary not only to make them evident but also to know about their dynamics.

## **Materials and methods**

The methodology applied was of quantitative design, the source of data the Continuous Household Surveys between 2006 and 2016, given that they incorporate the rural territories and it is the period of greatest growth of agri-food production, in addition the data of the last Agricultural Census of 2011, which makes it possible to analyze productive changes at a territorial level. The analysis used with exploratory analysis techniques (univariable descriptive statistics), bivariate analysis with descriptive purposes (description of the whole of the observed population) and explanatory purposes (analyze possible causal relationships between two variables: independent and dependent).

In summary, secondary data analysis is applied, this type of analysis enables the evaluation of trends and the comparison of the data available for a wide period of time, countries and regions on a national or international scale, of descriptive and bivariate type.

## **Analysis of results: context indicators in the last ten years**

There are few studies about how the indicated changes have generated or not differential labor dynamics in the age and social groups that make up the labor market as a whole. In view of this, the next item considers those that are considered to be the main trends of Uruguayan rural work, trying to situate their characteristics and impacts on the conditions of rural wage earners.

When observing the trajectory in these last four decades (1975-2013) in Chart 1, the evolution of those employed in the agricultural<sup>1</sup> sector and the importance of the sector in relation to the total number of employed persons in the country is presented. In general terms, it can be seen that the highest

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1 In the data presented, all the employees of Branch 1 "Agriculture, forestry and fisheries" (INE) are considered, regardless of the category of occupation and type of task they perform.

number of employed persons in the country is recorded in 2010 and the lowest in 1996 (179 833 and 147 515, respectively), increasing in the period 1996-2010, approximately 30 000 those employed in the sector (Ion, 2015).

**Chart 1**  
**Evolution of the number of employed persons in the agricultural sector and % in relation to the total number of employed persons in the country. Years 2006, 2010 and 2016.**

Year	Employed in the agricultural sector	% Employed in the agricultural sector/ total of the country	Variation of employed persons in thousands	Variation of employed persons in %
2006 (Base 100)	151 044	10,8	0	0
2010	179 833	11,6	28.789	19,0
2016	138 338	8,4	-12.706	-8,5

Source: OMT-MTSS 2011, 2012, 2013, based on ECH 2006, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013 INE. Ion, 2015.

When considering the data provided by the Continuous Household Survey (CHS) in the analyzed period, the percentage of employed in the agricultural sector maintained a growing trend between 2006 and 2010, there is an accumulated increase of approximately 29 000 in these four years, and a significant retraction in 2016, when approximately 13 000 people were no longer linked to the sector.

During the period 2006-2016, those employed in the agricultural sector, with respect to the total of those employed in the country, ranged between 10.8, 11.6% and 8.4%. A decrease is observed in 2016 in relation to the base year of 2010, in reference to the total number of employed persons in the country, in absolute terms, this decrease of employed persons in the agricultural sector in 2016 registered 13,000 fewer employed persons compared to the year 2010.

**Chart 2**  
**Unemployment rate country**  
**and rurality by age (2006-2010-2016)**

Year	14 to 24 Years (%)	25 Years and more (%)	General Rate (%)
2006	27,9	7,3	10,8
2010	20,6	4,5	7,2
2016	11,0	2,8	7,8
Year	Rurality		General Rate (%)
2006	7,8	3,2	4,2
2010	6,7	2,1	3,0
2016	7,5	2,3	3,5

Source: Elaborated by the authors, based on ECH 2006, 2010, and 2016, INE.

For this chart, the situation of unemployment in the aforementioned period is analyzed. Young people practically double the unemployment rate in relation to the general rate and quadruple with respect to those over 25 years. They present a geometric average of 17.9% of unemployment, while those over 25 years 4.5%.

When analyzing rurality, the situation is different, but the trend is the same, that is, higher youth unemployment both in relation to the general rate and those over 25 years. Different because young people have a geometric average unemployment rate of 7.3% and those over 25 years of 2.5%, that is, lower when compared to the national panorama and the differences of higher unemployment of young people in relation to the overall rural and adult rate is double, less than that observed at the national level.

In summary, during the analyzed period the unemployment rate behaved generationally unequal beyond the social space, given that young people presented higher unemployment rates both at the national and rural levels in relation to adults.

**Chart 3**  
**Working conditions country**  
**and rurality by age (2006-2010-2016)**

Year	14 to 24 Years (%)	14 to 24 Years (%)	25 Years and more (%)	25 Years and more (%)	General Rate (%) - Contributes Retirement Fund	General Rate (%) - gets bonuses
	Contributes retirement fund	Gets bonuses	Contributes retirement fund	Gets bonuses		
2006	42,0%	55,0%	66,0%	74,0%	62,5	69,5
2010	56,0%	60,0%	71,0%	61,0%	69,0	61,0
2016	65,0%	66,0%	76,0%	64,0%	74,3	64,4
Year	Rurality				General Rate (%) - Contributes Retirement Fund	General Rate (%) - gets bonuses
	Contributes retirement fund	Gets bonuses	Contributes retirement fund	Gets bonuses		
2006	43,0%	55,0%	69,0%	74,0%	64,5	69,4
2010	45,0%	47,0%	67,0%	47,0%	64,0	47,0
2016	52,0%	52,0%	67,0%	49,0%	65,0	49,0

Source: Elaborated by the authors, based on ECH 2006, 2010, and 2016, INE.

Chart 3 presents information on some dimensions of decent work, in this case emphasis is placed on the formality of the work, considering whether the worker contributes to the retirement fund (whatever it is) and/or receives the bonus payment for this activity.

The first thing that is observed is a continuous increase of salaried workers contributing to the retirement fund between 2006 and 2016, while the inverse movement occurs with the collection of bonuses. This situation could be indicating a characteristic of the type of employment that has been developing in the country, formal jobs but with greater flexibility in time, type of employment relationship with those who demand the same and intensity of the task.

Secondly, analyzing generations in terms of general trend younger employees during the analyzed period have presented lower rates than the general and in relation to adults both in the contribution to retirement fund and in the collection of bonuses. Now, it is worth noting the constant

increase in the contribution to retirement funds in both generational groups but with differential improvements, in the case of young people an increase of 55% and of adults of 15%, but despite this the adults continue with better coverage than young people. It is appreciated that the point of arrival in the retirement coverage of young employees in the study period (2016), is the starting point for adults (2006). That is to say, the generational inequalities remain although it is to emphasize their decrease.

When analyzing the bonus payment, inversely proportional movements are presented in generational terms, while the bonus payment rate for young workers increases, it decreases for adults. What would raise the question about the flexibility of jobs in this analyzed decade, is it for everyone equally?

In the third place, as the analysis continues but rurality is incorporated into it, it can be seen in general terms that both the contribution rates to the retirement fund and the payment of the bonus are lower than the general or country rates. Now, although the general trend of the country is maintained, it is not in relation to the observed intensity, that is, in the case of rurality, the improvement in the contribution to the retirement fund was 0.07% while the general rate was of approximately 18%, while, in regard to the payment of bonuses, again, the downward trend remains but in rurality the decline is 29% and in the country of 7%, which opens the question about flexibility labor and its occurrence in the social space of the labor market.

Continuing with the analysis of rurality but incorporating the generational approach, it is observed that the starting point (2006) the rates of contribution to pension fund and bonus payment are similar for both generations but different points of arrival (2016). In the case of young people, the increase in the contribution to the retirement fund was approximately 21%, while for adults there was a decrease of 3% -the latter is different from what is observed in the country. In the payment of end-year bonuses said trend is maintained, the decrease in young people is 5.5% and in adults 34% different situation when compared with the country, in the case of adults the decrease is 14% and in young people the bonus payment increases by 20%.

In summary, the improvements and precarious conditions of work conditions would not be for everyone equally or in the same social space of work. The following chart considers the evolution of income/hour in the same occupation of the employee but in different generations, in this case what the CHS defines as unskilled workers.

**Chart 4**  
**Evolution of the hourly wage of employed persons**  
**as unskilled workers according to age and rurality (2006-2010-2016)**

Year	Evolution wage per hour of the employed as unskilled workers <sup>2</sup>		Median Income/ Time in the country
	14 to 24 Years (%)	25 Years and more (%)	
2006	USD 10,1	USD 15,5	USD 15,3
2010	USD 7,9	USD 10,0	USD 9,7
2016	USD 11,7	USD 14,5	USD 13,8
Year	Rurality		General Rate (%)
2006	USD 9,9	USD 15,4	USD 15,2
2010	USD 7,5	USD 9,7	USD 9,2
2016	USD 11,7	USD 13,6	USD 13,2

Source: Elaborated by the authors, based on ECH 2006, 2010, and 2016, INE and BCU by exchange rate

For this case, employees were considered in the same occupation, unskilled worker. It is appreciated that during the analyzed period there was a decrease of 9% (2006-2016), now, those over 25 had a median income/hour of work greater than the national, while those under 25 years the situation was the opposite. When analyzing the evolution for each generation of employees, those over 25 have had a depreciation of 9% of income/hour between 2006 and 2016, while young people have increased by 16%. In spite of this, the inequality between generations has been of a geometric average of 24% in the period in the same occupation, it should be noted that it has decreased since in 2006 it was 35% and in 2016 it was 19%.

When analyzing rurality, it can be seen, first, that the evolution of the median income/hour tends to behave like that of the country, although slightly downward. When observing for generations, similar trends are also appreciated, that is, for wage earners over 25 years the hour wage was reduced by 9% and among those under 25 an increase of 18% occurred, the latter a little more than their urban peers. In relation to intergenerational

<sup>2</sup> The median price of the US dollar was taken as a reference in relation to the Uruguayan peso in the years analyzed, according to the Central Bank of Uruguay (BCU).

inequality, during the analyzed period it was a geometric average of 29% in this case, higher in rurality. It should be emphasized that, in the same way, the intergenerational inequality in income per hour of work has tended to decrease in the country, since in 2006 it was 55% and in 2016 it was 16%, although it would be lower to said proportion of inequality in rurality.

In summary, it is observed that the behavior of income per hour of work among the employed as unskilled workers in analyzed the period has tended to decrease by 9%, the behavior in this regard in rural areas is very similar to that of the country. Once again intergenerational differences are appreciated, since wage earners over 25 tend to earn more than their peers under 25 years, now, these inequalities tend to be higher in rural areas although they have been reduced to a greater extent in rural areas.

Now, it is also intended to analyze the social conditions developed during the period proposed and approach the impact of working conditions, which have been generated by the productive transformations identified in these generations of rural wage-earners.

The analysis in the social conditions of the employees to know the weight of poverty, from the generational point of view, will make it possible to distinguish the different structural conditions of these rural workers. To this end, the unsatisfied basic needs approach was considered, which evaluates the goods and services available to households, in this case rural wage earners. For which a set of basic needs is selected, and a minimum satisfaction threshold is determined for each dimension, in this case the NBI considered were: access to education services, housing quality, overcrowding, access to water, availability and type of sanitary service and refrigerator holding (Riella & Mascheroni, 2011).

Consider this methodological approach to know the incidence of poverty in the social conditions of rural employees, it means discovering the structural tendency of the shortcomings which would not be possible to be detected by the circumstantial improvement of the income and that in certain cases depend more of public policies such as education, housing or access to education (Vigorito, 2005 in Riella & Mascheroni, 2011).

On the other hand, the poverty analyzed from the poverty line implies considering the income method for its measurement, for which, as indicated by the National Institute of Statistics:

...it is necessary to define a Basic Food Basket per capita (BFB) and a Total Basic Basket per capita (TBB) with which the thresholds, Indigence Line

(IL) and Poverty Line (PL) are defined. If the household's per capita income is below the IL or PL the household is defined as indigent or poor respectively (INE, 2006, p.11).

To which, the analysis below considers both methods of measuring poverty (direct: NBI and indirect: poverty line) jointly also known as integrated poverty analysis (Katzman, 1989), and thus obtain a new measurement with a higher level of completeness. This generates four categories, namely: chronic poverty: includes those households that have income (or consumption) below the poverty line and one or more unsatisfied basic needs. This group forms the most critical core of poverty; these are homes that live in prolonged conditions of deprivation and that, in addition to not being able to routinely acquire the minimum goods and services, have not been able to obtain adequate housing or ensure all its members access to education, to health services and employment opportunities; recent poverty: includes poor households by income (or consumption) but with basic needs met.

It is a situation that suggests that the income deficit has not been permanent or long enough to affect the satisfaction of the needs of a household - which changes more slowly than income - such as chronic malnutrition or housing shortages; that is, it indicates a recent decline in the standard of living of households. They are homes that are at risk of falling into chronic poverty if job opportunities do not allow them to recover their purchasing power; Inertial poverty: refers to households with unsatisfied basic needs and income (or consumption) above the poverty line. It is a situation that suggests a process of economic advancement of households, because the dissatisfaction of needs would reveal that they were poor in the past but have not yet managed to eliminate their accumulated shortages in basic needs and lastly, social integration: it is about the population that is not poor by any of the two criteria; that is, it has income above the poverty line and its basic needs are met (SIISE, 2013).

The information below presents rural wage earners according to their situation of Unsatisfied Basic Needs (UBN) and poverty line according to age groups between 2006 and 2015. That is, generation will be considered as a control variable, considering as young people those between 14 and 30 years old as indicated by Uruguayan regulations and adults over 30 years old to observe if there is any change or not in the presence of such variable.

For the year 2006, as can be seen in table 5, the situation of wage earners is based on different situations of inequality between adults and young people, which were in worse conditions in 2006, both for the Poverty Line (PL) and for IBN.

**Chart 5**  
**Rural wage earners with IBN**  
**Poverty line according to age groups (2006)**

NBI Index and NBS	Young people (14-30 Years)		Total
	Poor	Not poor	
NBS	2,3%	6,1%	8,4%
	Recent poverty	Integrated	
NBI	38,4%	53,3%	91,7%
	Structural poverty	Inertial poverty	
Total	40,7% (3469)	59,3% (2499)	100,0% (n= 5968)
NBI Index and NBS	Adults (>30 Years)		Total
	Poor	Not poor	
NBS	7,6%	24,1%	31,8%
	Recent poverty	Integrated	
NBI	17,4%	50,8%	68,2%
	Structural poverty	Inertial poverty	
Total	25,1% (3438)	74,9% (10266)	100,0% (n= 13704)

Source: own elaboration based on the National Extended Household Survey - INE (ECH) 2006.

For 2016, the situation improves for both groups, but to a greater extent for young people in both indicators. These reduce poverty by 37 percentage points PL and increase 24 percentage points young people with NBS, adults also improve in both indicators but in smaller proportions, in short, the emphasis on improvements in social conditions would be among young wage earners.

**Chart 6**  
**Rural wage earners with NBI**  
**Poverty line according to age groups (2016)**

NBI Index and NBS	Young people (14-30 Years)		Total
	Poor	Not poor	
NBS	2,0%	27,2%	29,7%
	Recent poverty	Integrated	
NBI	5,7%	64,6%	70,3%
	Structural poverty	Inertial poverty	
Total	7,7% (50)	92,3% (596)	100,0% (n= 646)
NBI Index and NBS	Adults (>30 Years)		Total
	Poor	Not poor	
NBS	1,2%	22,2%	23,4%
	Recent poverty	Integrated	
NBI	4,8%	71,8%	76,6%
	Structural poverty	Inertial poverty	
Total	6,1% (78)	93,9% (1208)	100,0% (n= 1286)

Source: own elaboration based on the National Extended Household Survey - INE (ECH) 2006.

In summary, the social conditions of origin in the study present better percentages among adults both by Poverty Line and NBI, in relation to young salaried workers. At the end of the analysis period, there are improvements in these conditions for both social groups and especially for young salaried employees.

These improvements in social indicators converge with the observed improvements in working conditions among the generations of employees at the country level, but the same does not occur in rural areas. On the other hand, young people continue to participate in a greater degree of poverty and non-decent working conditions, and again in rural areas they deepen.

## Conclusions

The productive transformations that have taken place in the last decade have consolidated the social relations of capitalism and the wage labor, during the first half of the decade, the growth of rural wage earners became constant,

given the transformations under way, where it is characterized for low quality of employment and diversification of the structure of occupations.

When analyzing structural social indicators of rural wage-earners, global improvements are observed, but not homogeneous, firstly because wage earners, depending on whether they are young or adult, start from situations of different social inequality, with young people being the most unequal. The aforementioned would indicate a differential generational appropriation in the construction of well-being within the employees. This situation would indicate different forms of labor precariousness, characteristic of the new global productive model to which Uruguayan agri-export is integrated, in which generation inequalities remain (together with other variables) as structuring axes of the social inequality matrix of Uruguayan rurality.

As the authors Lima and Carneiro (2016) point out:

Formal salary does not mean non-precarious work, since the effective working conditions, days, intensification and forms of payment are disregarded. Thus, the link to social rights does not characterize the non-existence of precarization (p.91).

And in the Uruguayan case (one of the most egalitarian countries in the continent) it becomes diffusely transverse by age.

Finally, this appropriation would be related to the quality of employment developed by the employee in which, for young people, entry into the labor market would be for low-quality jobs, it generates low income in relation to their adult peers, in addition to the fact of being male or female, being the first ones who receive the highest income, the years of education in which for some young people it implies to reduce the wage gap but if they enter at an early age to work they will not be able to continue with the studies and will deepen this asymmetry in the income and finally, these jobs would be being demanded for short and intense periods of work.

Bearing in mind in the analysis of rural development the generational dimension, it would make it possible to appreciate the dynamics of those who carry out the socio-productive processes and the result of their benefits in rural territories, enriching it by considering the generational condition as part of the process that generates social inequalities. Such an approach is transversal to the situation in the productive structure as analyzed, but sensitive to such conditions given that despite being in situations of unfavorable social inequality, wage earners, when “opening” the focus of analysis on them, it is observed that they do not develop for everyone in the same way.

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